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Accordingly rape was unknown, the only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrazilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed.

DAILY DANCES

The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'tõi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cuiete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 32, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[109]

A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtiỵ seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose.

The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[110]

2. The precentress, mehõkrepũi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part.

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys' class and the two junior official classes, mepantũn.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[111]

[109] Próes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180, 182.

[110] Próes Abreu, op. cit., 182. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[111] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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body. Sometimes he skips two or three dancers in the row, then turns back a little toward the left, suddenly turning away from the line in order to dash off in long dancing jumps, nimbly and gracefully forming a semicircle, or it may be even a circle, around the girls. Some performers deliberately kick up the sand with the tips of the feet during this maneuver. The precentor's work is very arduous; he drips with perspiration and, notwithstanding minor intermissions, he is usually quite exhausted at the end of the dance. Sometimes his colleague must take over the last part of the dance. In Ponto there were times when more than fifty girls and women were dancing in a row; then one precentor will not suffice, so two appear simultaneously, one dancing before the right wing, the other before the left, their songs and movements coinciding perfectly.

As noted by Pohl[186] and myself, the youths start their activity not at the first song, but as a rule only at the second or third. Almost always they hold some weapon while dancing—a club or arrow or, it may be, nothing more than a stick. Some make special staves for the purpose, tipping them with some sort of tassel. The dancer grasps the club by the butt, not by the handle. Almost always one or two of the dancers brings along a trumpet, which is either held in the hand or suspended on the back by a neck cord. It consists of (a) a bamboo tube blown by a lateral hole and often decorated with pretty twilling in two colors; and (b) a long gourd resonator set at an obtuse angle (padavą', *Lagenaria* sp.). (See pl. 27, *a*.) Sometimes a cow horn cemented to the tube serves as a funnel-shaped resonator, in which case the instrument is called hõ'hí. (See pl. 27, *b*.) It is blown in short, rapid blasts, especially before the dance and during intermissions, the fundamental and then the overtone becoming audible.

The youths, with legs outstretched, gently swing their knees, leaping and dancing in a body toward the girls as long as the precentor dances in front of the female line. But as soon as he turns away to execute his semicircle, the youths likewise retreat up to some thirty meters, leaping and yelling. In the dances held at daybreak they always utter a prolonged shout in chorus when starting a new stanza.

The first dance takes place between 3 and 4 A.M. The unmarried mepantúa and the wantons who sleep with them in the plaza are naturally not slow about taking their places, while the girls and young women who sleep in their mothers' homes and the women's husbands lag behind. The council had charged my hąpín, Čątú, with the duty of tending to the requisite quorum of participants. Accordingly, as soon as the dance had begun he would go from house to house around the boulevard, rousing the truants and sending them to the plaza. He was particularly eager to have me accompany him on this circuit, hence woke me up before the rest, quite contrary at times to my convenience.

Toward 5 A.M. the chanting always grows extraordinarily wild and passionate. Anyone wishing to get a clear picture of Timbira dances ought to watch them at that time of day. Half an hour later the singing abruptly ceases. The precentor plants his rattle in the ground by its tip, turns about, and goes home, whereupon the dancers of both sexes withdraw and hurry off to bathe in the creek. Their place is then jointly taken by the chiefs and elders, who for the most part have already made their appearance to attend the close of the performance.

The second dance is held a little before sunset, whence its name, pųtkammekre, and consists of only five songs. The number of participants is less than at the other dances. At this time the councilors are assembled for the second deliberation of the day. Certain minor ceremonies are customary on this occasion, such as the tasting of cultivated fruits, the presentation of persons discharged from seclusion, etc.

[186] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.

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526 The ordinary logs are called krowa, burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), being
322 formed from a cylindrical section of one of these trees. About 1 m. long and 40-50
824 cm. in thickness, these logs may be estimated to weigh 100 kg., but are actually somewhat lighter. To afford a better grip the makers set off a shallow hollow from the margins of the terminal planes. (See pl. 29, *b*.) Among the Krĩkatí I saw gigantic logs, but they had been bilaterally hollowed out, leaving a transverse partition 5 cm. in thickness. Invariably a man of mature years tests the completed logs at the site of manufacture, ordering those he judges too heavy to be lopped off and over-light ones to be deposited in the water.

Logs made out of the heartwood of other trees are called pąra. The pę'rakahą'k made at the beginning of the pepyé initiation—with grips projecting from the terminal planes in the direction of the longitudinal axis—represent a special variety. I observed similar specimens among the Kre'pų'mkateye. Distinct from these are the pąrakačą're used on the first and second days of the closing ceremony of the ketúaye festival. Their weight is negligible; on the other hand, the hąmkrán typical of the opening of the vų'tę' season are the heaviest I have ever seen.

526 For the more solemn log races the Rąmkõ'kamekra adorn themselves with girdle
292 pendants far less impressive than those of the Apinayé; they likewise put on forehead bands, neck bands, sashes, and burity-fiber girdles. The pendants and the girdles have long posterior tail-like appendages. At a major race at the close of the ketúaye the participants had tied together their long occipital hair with a grass fan of the type referred to on page 48 (see pl. 20, *b*).

526 The Rąmkõ'kamekra paint themselves black for a log race. During it they use
302 as instruments only trumpets and their little calabash ocarinas. Like the Apinayé
● 534 they wrap their wrists with plaited cotton cords terminating in tassels (pl. 11, *c*, *d*);
[271] this is to afford protection from chafing against the edge of the log. It is the young girls' duty at major races to provide themselves with gourd bottles filled with water and, keeping pace with the runners, to slake their thirst.

526 The teams alternate in issuing a challenge. Either at an evening or a morning session a councilor once and for all delegated for this duty loudly calls the team whose turn has come, "aikõ'! aikõ'! ape kǫ'ikateye (or whatever may be the team in question) kanąm meká iykre kačúa to ike'ké!" Those summoned reply in chorus, "hã'o!"

At a suitable distance from the village, in a *galeria* forest with burity palms, the challengers prepare the two logs and, when done, drag them to one of the race tracks if feasible, but as a rule only as far as one of the bypaths that ultimately lead to the track. A space about 6 m. square is cleared, and there the logs are laid down at a distance of about 1½ m. from each other, resting on leaves so as not to be soiled. They are always put down with the axis in the direction of the course. The above-mentioned hąmkrán are painted red by two erstwhile girl associates of the pepyé. (See pl. 29, *a*.)

526 The ceremony of the čų'kate with the hąmkrán logs resting on the ground has
554 been described. The office of these four čų'kate is attached to the names Vakái, Pąrkré, Pądnhí and Mĩkrõ', with which it is passed on by inheritance. Their badge consists of a girdle plaited of cotton; it is of the width of two fingers. Hanging from it is a pendant (čų) of rattling objects, properly tapir hoofs; but since nowadays the tapir is extinct within the tribal domain, the tips of little bottle gourds, deer hoofs, and ostrich beaks serve as substitutes. From this girdle the čų'kate derive their name, and formerly all four of them wore these emblems in their official capacity; but at present only one of them owns one.

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lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pīkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárčą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkō'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the earplugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakō'kama, being the youngest of the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western vų'tę"s house and arranged many log races with the next older pōhį'kama class camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vų'tę' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the pōhį'kama and wakō'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled

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TRUMPETS

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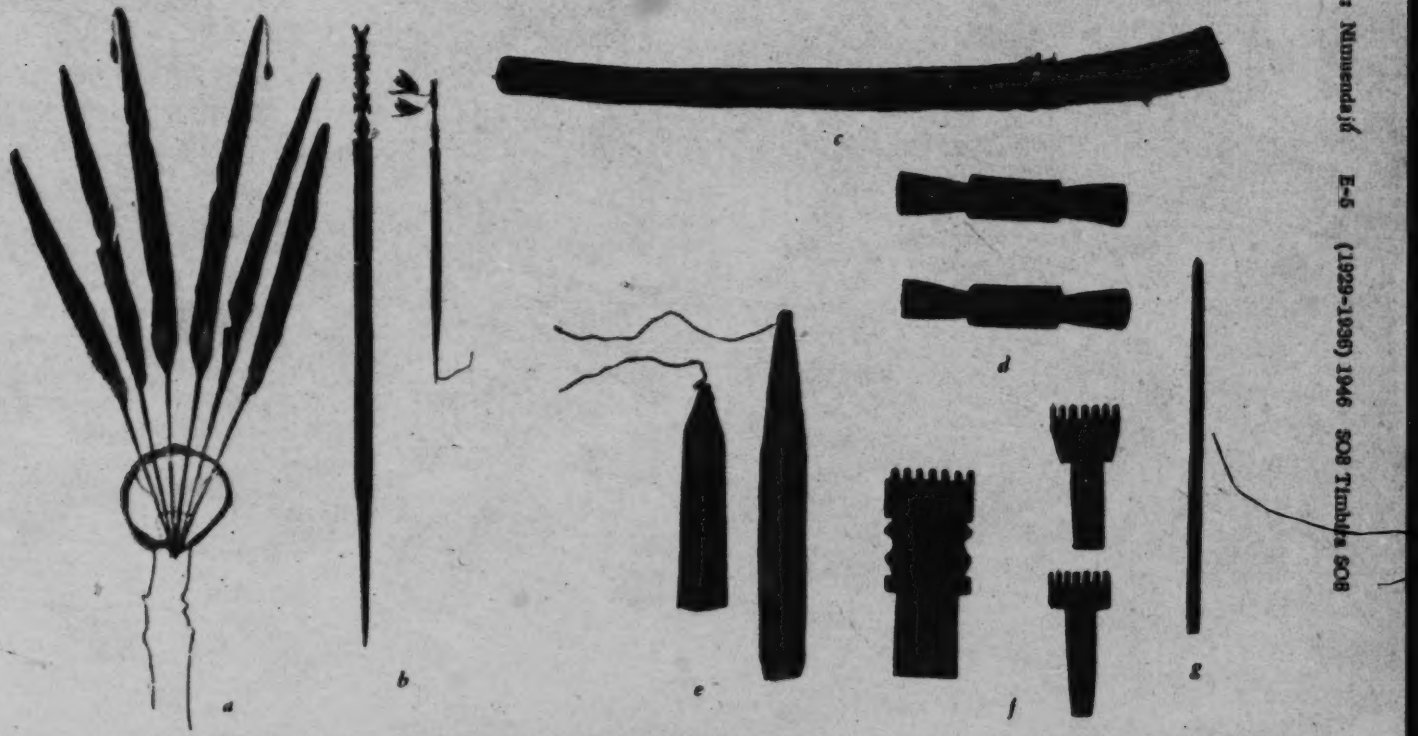

OCCIPITAL ORNAMENT; SCRATCHING STICKS; CEREMONIAL CLUB; MINIATURE PARARE LOGS; BULL-ROARERS; STAMP FOR DOTS; TALLY STICK

/51/

415 No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell [824] of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of [824] a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[171] [113]

1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

[237] [386] [531] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouthpiece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is inserted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig. 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./

301 824 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé), to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 302 No. 8. Dye sample (pú), urucú kneaded together with clay. Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 [237] [114] No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather decoration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief, which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to

/51 cont./

535 mark the dance rhythm at festivals by being beaten together. (Fig. 2, 11.)

534 No. 10. Small decorated musical instrument (gukon-grúte), a kind of signal whistle made from a gourd (Cuyen/ shell, with a blowhole and two tone holes. (Fig. 2, 8.)

No. 11. A similar instrument, decorated with beads and small feathers. (Fig. 2, 4.)

301 No. 12. Neck ornament (hakró) made of cotton threads [283] (roretsí); in addition to animal claws, a small gourd whistle [237] (gukon-krúte). [534]

301 306 482 534 535

Fig. 2.

(gukon-krúte). (Fig. 2, 3.)

301 304 No. 13. Ear ornament (2) (kūi), consisting of black-red

[824] 2. According to Etienne Ignace, made out of the hard wood of the "Pau santo" /Zygophyllaceae/ or "Acupu."

wooden rings, 2.5 centimeters thick, 8 centimeters in diameter, and 26.5 centimeters in circumference, which are worn in the